

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be allowed to proceed for 10 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield that I may make an inquiry of the majority leader?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I should like to inquire of the majority leader whether I understand correctly that there will be some speeches; and is it anticipated that the so-called money resolutions will be called up today?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. At what time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would estimate within 15 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I thank the majority leader.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for 10 minutes.

PANAMA, ZANZIBAR, AND CASTRO CUBA

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the recent events in Panama, Zanzibar, and Guantanamo again point to the need for a reassessment of our policy vis-a-vis Communist Cuba.

The belief has been expressed in the past that, while Castro is admittedly a nuisance, he does not constitute a serious menace. We could, therefore, it was held, afford to follow a leisurely policy, restricted to an embargo on trade and other economic harassments.

The recent rash of Castro-inspired crises will, I hope, suffice to dispel this illusion. The fact is that Castro is a dagger pointed at our throat, at the throats of all the countries of the Americas, and for that matter at the throats of many of the newly emerging countries in different parts of the world.

I have sometimes been critical of the manner in which the press has covered foreign situations, but I must say that in Zanzibar and Panama the press has turned in a first-class performance. In the remarks that follow, I propose to quote from the press at a number of points because the total pattern emerges far more clearly from a careful dovetailing of key items in various newspapers.

The American authorities have made public the information that in the wake of the recent bloody rioting in Panama, 10 Castro agitators were seized and one of them was identified as having participated in the early firing on American troops.

It is a sobering thought that, in a situation such as exists in Panama, a handful of trained agitators and terrorists can provoke bloodshed resulting in hundreds of casualties and in the severance of diplomatic relations between Panama and the United States.

According to a column written by Joseph Alsop and published in the New York Herald Tribune for January 2, 45 Communist agents, of whom 13 had been trained in Cuba, have been identified among the leaders of the Panamanian

riots. Mr. Alsop added the further information that a settlement of the Panamanian dispute is being sabotaged by two pro-Castroites in key positions in the Panamanian Government: Eloy Benedetti, legal adviser to the Foreign Minister, and Solis Palma, Minister of Education.

Mr. Alsop said:

As Minister of Education, Solis Palma is both the protector and the voice in the Cabinet of the pro-Communist student movement, which is of course led by full party members. Of these, a good many have also been trained in Cuba.

According to Mr. Alsop, Benedetti and Solis Palma were instrumental in forcing President Chiari to reinterpret the communique he had signed in a manner which made it unacceptable to the United States; and then to sever relations completely when the State Department, as was clearly predictable, said that President Chiari's interpretation was not the one they had agreed to.

All observers are apparently agreed that the situation in Panama remains explosively dangerous and that some very ugly things can happen there within the coming months.

Panama has from the first been a prime target of Castro communism. In fact, only 4 months after Castro came into power in Cuba, on April 26, 1959, Cuban troops wearing Cuban Army uniforms landed near the village of Nombregue de Dios in Panama. Since that time, there have been a whole series of events confirming that the Cuban Communist regime has designated the state of Panama as a prime target for subversion. Some of these events have been cataloged chronologically by the Cuban revolutionary movement, and I therefore ask unanimous consent to have the text of their bulletin of January 11, 1964, inserted into the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

In this connection, I should like to quote a statement I made on the floor of the Senate on September 10, 1962. On that occasion, I said that the Soviet military buildup in Cuba "poses a distinct threat to the security of the United States in the sense that it gives Castro the military power to overthrow, or repeat his attempt to overthrow, the Government of Panama, thus placing the Panama Canal under the direct control of Moscow. In doing so, Khrushchev and Castro would not stage a frontal attack on Panama; they would attack by proxy, using an indigenous extremist movement as a front, and pretending to the world that the entire action had been initiated by the Panamanian people."

In a TV discussion which occurred shortly after the Panama riots, I was asked what I felt would be next. I replied that I believed the next item on Castro's agenda would be a move on our Guantanamo Naval Base.

Castro took far less time to comply with this prediction than I had anticipated. Last Thursday, the quelling dictator of Cuba cut off Guantanamo's water supply, ostensibly as a retaliation for the arrest of the Cuban fishermen who illegally entered American waters. Some experts have predicted, however, that

this would be the first of a series of moves directed against Guantanamo, and that each provocative action that went unpunished, would encourage Castro to further provocative actions.

The events in Panama are all the more a matter for concern because they were followed within days by a successful Communist coup in Zanzibar, led by African natives who were trained in Castro Cuba.

About Zanzibar, there has, fortunately been none of the confused press reporting that attended Fidel Castro's assumption of power. Press dispatches have been unanimous in reporting that African revolutionaries, trained in Cuba and Moscow and China, had organized the overthrow of the Zanzibar Government, and that what has taken place is not a nationalist revolt but a Communist coup d'etat.

An AP dispatch of January 16, quoted one of the aides to Mr. Babu, the new Communist Foreign Minister, as saying that he had been trained in Cuba along with many other Zanzibaris.

A remarkably detailed article written by Robert Conley and published in the New York Times for January 20 said that—

Fewer than 50 subversives trained in guerrilla warfare and political revolution carried out the Zanzibar takeover.

The article said further that it is clear that these Communist-trained Africans have seized every bit of real power on the island and that the conversion of Zanzibar into a peoples' Socialist republic gives the Communists their greatest victory to date in Africa.

Let me quote a few paragraphs from Mr. Conley's article:

Every indication suggests that the revolution itself had been planned clandestinely before Zanzibar and its northern island of Pemba gained their independence from Britain December 10. Twenty-two Zanzibaris are reported to have returned to the island on independence day, after several months of training in Cuba, to make final preparations.

These guerrillas became the hard core within the untrained ranks of the liberation army.

Writing from information available in Washington and New York, Mr. Tad Szulc, of the New York Times, said on January 22 that—

Preparations for last week's pro-Communist revolution in Zanzibar began quietly in Cuba late in 1961 when a Zanzibari political office was established in Havana. They reached their peak with the arrival 6 weeks ago of a Cuban chargé d'affaires in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.

Mr. Szulc said that in 1961 the Zanzibar National Party had opened an office in Havana and that the man who ran this office had emerged as a top aid of John Okello, self-styled field marshal of the Zanzibari revolution, himself a product of 2 years' training at guerrilla camps in Cuba's Oriente Province.

Mr. Szulc said the evidence indicates that Cuba, working with the Soviet Union and possibly Communist China, has been concentrating her attention on South Africa and east Africa.

In addition to tracing the Cuban strategy in preparing for the revolution in Zanzibar—

Said Mr. Szulc—

the information, which comes from many quarters, discloses that several hundred African students are being trained in Cuba. The training is said to include guerrilla warfare tactics.

Eyewitness testimony on the events in Zanzibar strongly suggests the direct participation of Cuban guerrilla and political experts. An article published in the Kenya newspaper, East African Standard on January 15, said that many of the refugees from Zanzibar arriving in Dar es Salaam claimed that they had seen Cubans leading insurgent groups during the fighting. They spoke of seeing men who wore Castro-style jackets and bush hats and spoke in Spanish. In support of these statements, a Herald Tribune article of January 15 quoted Stuart Lillicoe, a U.S. Information Service officer from Zanzibar, as saying that the man in charge of one insurgent stronghold was heard to speak Spanish, and that he was sure he was a Cuban.

I would remind my colleagues that when the Cuban underground movement reported the presence of large numbers of African natives at the time of the missile crisis, there was a disposition to consider this report inaccurate or exaggerated. "What would African natives be doing in Cuba?" some of the skeptics asked. And when the State Department was queried about the reports that African natives had been seen in Cuban training camps, they replied that they had no confirmation of this.

Once again it turned out that Cuban underground reports were more accurate than our own intelligence. Now we know that there were African natives in training in Cuba; and we also know what they were doing there.

While the American press has been virtually unanimous in its reporting of the Zanzibar situation, I note with dismay that the Department of State, after first expressing its concern over the known Communist backgrounds of the leaders of the coup, has sought in recent statements to play down the impression that Zanzibar has been taken over by a Castro-type movement. As it did in the period immediately preceding the Castro takeover in Cuba and in the period immediately following it, the Department has been emphasizing the fact that certain figures in the Government are nationalist rather than Communist, and has been suggesting to the press that what we have recently witnessed is essentially an African nationalist revolution rather than a coldblooded Communist takeover.

The State Department's blind persistence compels me to ask whether it will never learn from the past. It built up a China policy predicated on the assumption that the Chinese Reds were agrarian reformers rather than Communists. It built up a Cuba policy based on the assumption that Castro was also essentially some kind of reformer rather than a Communist. Now it appears to be building up a Zanzibar policy based on the futile hope that the few non-Communist elements in the new Zanzibari Gov-

ernment may be able to control the Communist majority who made the revolution.

Mr. President, again I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues the admonition of the distinguished liberal philosopher, Salvador de Madariaga, in his book, "Between the Bear and the Eagle":

The argument that Castro had better be left alone and given enough rope to hang himself is worthless. The experience of other nations fallen into the unscrupulous hands of the Communist Party allows of no such optimism. Time could only make of Cuba an impregnable base for communism to spread all over Latin America. The Latin American governments who shilly-shally over it are only preparing the rope with which they will be hanged. Castro must go soon.

I also wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues the fact that there has been pending before Congress for some 5 years a bill calling for the establishment of a Freedom Academy. This would be an institution where Americans and citizens of other free countries could receive concentrated training in Communist techniques and operations, and in tactics and methods designed to frustrate the Communists at every operational level, from the elections for the control of trade unions and student organizations, to street riots, to attempted insurrections.

The Senate Judiciary Committee in reporting this measure to the floor in May of 1960, described the bill as one of the most important measures ever introduced in the Congress. But, unfortunately, although the bill was passed by the Senate, the House took no action.

In early 1961, and again in early 1963, slightly revised versions of the Freedom Academy bill were introduced with the sponsorship of the following Senators: MURKIN, DOUGLAS, CASE, DODD, SMATHERS, GOLDWATER, PROXMIER, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, MILLER, KEATING, LAUSCHE, and SCOTT. Ever since 1961, the bill has been with the Foreign Relations Committee. The committee finally got around to holding hearings last year, but it has thus far not issued a report.

What we need, and need desperately, is an institution that can help us to prevent Panama crises and Zanzibar takeovers.

It is not enough to teach our foreign service personnel the history and language of the country to which they will be assigned.

It is not enough to teach them the details of protocol and the etiquette of diplomacy.

It is not enough to give them academic instructions on Communist philosophy and history.

All these things we are doing today; and if we wait for very many more Panamas and Zanzibars before we wake up to the realization that such a training program is not adequate, it may prove too late to save what is left of the free world.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy, on his return from his world tour in 1962, made this comment:

In every country well-organized and highly disciplined Communist cadres concentrate their activities in universities, student

bodies, labor organizations, and intellectual groups. Against these there is no one to question their positions or their facts; no organization, no cadre, no disciplined and calculated effort to present the other side. And so it is that a small, able, and well-trained unit can take over a meeting or an organization or even a government.

Had the Freedom Academy come into existence a decade ago, I believe that the recent Panama crisis could have been nipped in the bud.

The American personnel in Panama would have anticipated such a contingency and would have prepared against it.

The anti-Communist and prodemocratic Panamanian students, who certainly constitute the majority of the student body, would have been provided with the kind of training essential to frustrate Communist infiltration.

Panamanian newspapermen and editors would similarly have been trained to defend their country by resisting Communist propaganda. Meaningful contacts would have been established between the American community in Panama, both governmental employees and private citizens and the Panamanian people.

This is no pipe dream. It has been demonstrated by the Institute for Free Labor Development of the AFL-CIO that those who believe in freedom can, with proper training, defeat the graduates of the revolutionary training schools operated by Moscow and Havana. Latin American trade unionists who have been trained by the Institute for Free Labor Development have, in situation after situation, driven the Castroites from positions of control in the trade union movement.

What the trade union movement has done in its own field, can, I am convinced, be done in every other area.

We have been losing the cold war because we have been amateurs fighting against professional revolutionaries. So long as this imbalance continues, I think it can be predicted as a certainty that the Communists will continue to defeat the free world in one situation after another.

If the tragedy of Panama and the tragedy of Zanzibar can somehow compel us to reexamine our posture and to recognize the imperative need to equip ourselves with the knowledge and the trained personnel required to meet the Communist onslaught, if they can persuade Congress even at this late date to enact legislation needed to establish a Freedom Academy, then perhaps these tragedies will not have altogether in vain.

THE PEACE CORPS

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, of the many and varied programs initiated in recent years, few have gained such wholehearted and enthusiastic nationwide support as the Peace Corps.

In the 3 short years since its inception, this youthful, vigorous program has demonstrated how much can be accomplished by a responsible, dedicated application of the principle of self-help.